

more than probably any people on the face of the earth.

But you see, the battle for the minds of men is every bit as important as the military struggle and in this arena as in others, there is no easy answer, no quick solution.

I was amazed and astonished by the recent polls conducted by Dr. Gallup which indicated that in the opinion of most Americans it is thought that the average return on the average corporate investment runs 20 to 30 percent. Even more astonishing were surveys conducted outside of the United States which showed people in Montevideo saying that the average investment yielded 60 percent and people in Western Europe using figures as high as 47 percent. This demonstrates that American business, in general, has a real job of public relations to do.

Certainly, this is the result of the Communist party line that free enterprise means tremendous profits for a few people without sharing on a fair share of earnings to the workers. This nonsense must be counteracted with the truth, not only in the United States but throughout the world. What are the causes? Well as the saying is, the following are for sure.

We must adopt a long-run view of world affairs. The race is not always to the swift. We must accept struggle and peril as part of our daily portion.

We must possess ourselves in patience. All this may require a substantial transformation in our temperament. We are impatient. But our potential enemy is endlessly patient. Many of his ambitions of today were his ambitions 400 years ago.

The price of freedom has always been high. It was high at Valley Forge and Lexington. It was high at the Marne in 1914. It was high in France in 1944. But the price of defeat is death and slavery.

If the price of freedom is eating hockeys and molasses, I am for that.

If its price is hockeys and branch water, I am for that.

We must elect to be wise or foolish; to vacillate or persevere, to survive or perish.

Finally, we must have a genuine appreciation and understanding of American liberty and freedom; we must as individuals dispel by word and example, wherever we go, the clever Communist propaganda directed deliberately against us; and we must realize that our society will not survive unless we will it so; that our Constitution as great as it is will only survive as long as the people are dedicated to its principles.

Briefing file
Statement by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles Before Senate Foreign Relations Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 14, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the statement made today by the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE JOHN FOSTER DULLES, SECRETARY OF STATE, BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1959

I. INTRODUCTION

The world is today changing more rapidly than ever before. But the fact that much is changing does not mean that everything has changed. There are certain values, certain principles, that are enduring. Among these are the concepts of individual human dignity and the supremacy of moral law.

In a changing world our task is to strive resolutely that change shall increasingly reflect the basic principles to which our Nation has, from its origin, been dedicated.

II. OUR BASIC PURPOSES

1. At a time when war involves unacceptable risks for all humanity, we work to build a stable world order.

2. We seek for general acceptance of the concept of individual dignity which will lead to the spread of responsible freedom and personal liberty.

3. We seek that the free nations shall attain a more rapid rate of economic growth, so that their independence will be more secure and vigorous and so that there will be greater opportunities for cultural and spiritual development.

III. THE PRIMARY THREAT

The Soviet Union and Communist China are expanding their economic and industrial power at a very rapid pace. They do so by a system which combines governmental rule of all labor with imposed austerity. This makes it possible greatly to accelerate capital developments.

There is emphasis, too, on quality. A spectacular product of Soviet material accomplishment was its recent space probe. In this field, the United States is still trying to catch up and make up for the head start of the Soviets. Our space accomplishments during the past year justify the belief that we are making good relative progress.

The Chinese Communists seem to be going into a dark night of massed regimentation and forced labor. What they call the great leap forward is in reality a tragic fall backward into the abyss of human slavery.

Asian nations are experiencing one aspect of Communist economic development: The Communist tactic of flooding their market places with goods at less than prevailing prices. This has widespread effects, some of which reach into our own country. As one example only, the dumping of cotton textiles in Southeast Asia has reduced Japanese exports in that area and is already reducing exports of cotton from the United States to Japan. As Communist economic power grows, we must anticipate and plan for further shocks to the free world economic structure from the Communist trade offensive.

Communist economic methods involve costs in human privation and misery that for us are not only repugnant but completely unacceptable. We believe that over the long run such a process must inevitably be altered. Already there are indications that the Soviet leaders are beginning to realize this. There is some scaling down of their heavy industry ambitions. They are beginning to heed demands by workers and peasants for more leisure and for a greater share in the fruits of their labor. Peoples rudely educated to operate a modern industrial state may be expected also to acquire the desire for freedom and the capacity to get it. History gives us good reason to believe that the Soviet peoples will not indefinitely submit to dictatorial rule by the International Communist Party leadership. It would appear that the Communists will encounter difficulties increasing in the long run.

But for the short run—and this may be a period of years—the situation is full of danger.

That means that we may face a period even harder than we have become used to. To get advantage from time we shall have to stand on our course. We shall need the national will to stand firm in the face of aggressive threats and proberings from the Sino-Soviet bloc. We shall need to make whatever unusual sacrifices may be necessary. People respond to this kind of demand when they understand that a temporary emergency requires it. But these burdens seem to grow heavier the longer they must be borne during a period of relative peace. Our people will need to show what freedom can mean in terms of self-sacrifice and self-discipline; and in terms of fortitude and perseverance.

IV. WORLD ORDER

Let me speak now about world order. This requires an elimination of the use or threat of force to accomplish international change. This was always a bad method. It has become an intolerable method because the force at man's disposal could now practically obliterate human life on this planet.

The United States and other free world nations have, by their conduct, done much to establish, for themselves, the principle of the renunciation of aggressive force; and they have shown their ability and will to deter such use of force by others.

At the time of the Suez affair and the Israeli-Egyptian hostilities, the United Kingdom and France, and then Israel, responding to the overwhelming opinion of the United Nations, withdrew their armed forces and accepted a United Nations solution. This may well prove to be a historical landmark.

During the past year the United States and its partners have further shown their opposition to change through force or the threat of force.

When Lebanon and Jordan seemed threatened from without and appealed to the United States and the United Kingdom for emergency aid, we responded with promptness and efficiency. When the emergency was relieved by United Nations action, we promptly withdrew our forces.

Throughout the world small nations felt a profound sense of reassurance.

In the Far East the Chinese Communists, with Soviet backing, initiated military action designed, as they put it, to expel the United States from the western Pacific. We stood beside the Republic of China as it resisted what seemed the preliminaries of that attack. Our free world associates generally supported our position that change in that area should not be effected by force of arms.

The Government of the Republic of China itself made a notable contribution when, last October, it declared that it relied primarily upon peaceful principles and not upon force to secure the freeing of the mainland. This courageous and statesmanlike act has strengthened the free world's cause in the western Pacific.

Now in Berlin we face an effort to expel the small western contingents in West Berlin. Their presence constitutes an indispensable safeguard to the freedom of that city. The NATO powers, at their December meeting, unanimously vowed that such expulsion should be resisted.

Step by step, discernible progress continues to be made in consolidating a system of collective security which will effectively operate to exclude the use of force to effect international changes.

The mutual security arrangements which we have with free world countries no longer assume the aspect of mere military alliances.

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They are the framework of consultative processes that, day by day, are steadily reforming the society of free nations.

In primitive and frontier societies, security is on an individual basis. Each householder defends himself by his own means. That primitive formula is now obsolete domestically. It is becoming obsolete internationally. Many free nations combine to help each other. The resultant power is not a power which can be or would be used for any aggressive or nationalistic purpose. It is a power dedicated to the common welfare as mutually agreed.

The United States has repeatedly made clear—and I said this again at the last December NATO meeting—that we regard our own military power as being a trust for the benefit of our free world partnerships; that we are ready to make known to all the defensive purposes and circumstances under which that force might be used; and that we shall heed in this respect the advice and counsel of our partners just as we would expect them to heed our advice and counsel with respect to the international use of their force.

Thus, out of what may originally have been conceived primarily as military alliances, there is developing an international structure which provides collective security on the basis of organized and continuous collective consultation. That is something new in history.

I might add that accomplishment is not always easy given the variety of national development and national viewpoints. Nevertheless the free world practice in this regard constantly grows in efficiency.

World order is not, however, assured merely by the elimination of violence. There must be processes of peaceful change. These, too, are rapidly developing within the Free World. The General Assembly of the United Nations is a forum where these needs find effective expression. The General Assembly does not have the power to legislate change. But it has a capacity to induce change, at least in the case of governments which have respect for, and are responsive to, world opinion.

The peace of the Free World is not a peace of political stagnation of a peace which sanctifies the status quo. It is a peace characterized by peaceful change reflecting new human aspirations and potentialities.

There is, of course, need not only for processes which permit of peaceful change, but there is equally a need for stability in adherence to basic values, including that of respecting international agreements and treaties. This requires that, unless international law and treaty engagements are changed by common agreement, they should be respected.

There has not been as great a development of international law and recourse to judicial processes as would be desirable. The United Nations General Assembly Committee on the Codification of International Law has made little progress. Some significant progress in law development was made at the recent Law of the Sea Conference, and that Conference will be resumed in 1960. Inadequate use has been made of the International Court of Justice. As the President said last week in his State of the Union address, we envisage further steps to encourage the greater use of that Court.

In such ways as I describe progress is being made toward establishing a world order where peace rests, not on mere expediency or on a balance of power, but on a basis of sound institutions.

This evolution is not spectacular and rarely considered "news." What attracts attention are the aggressive proings of the Communists and the free world reactions thereto. That gives the impression that our foreign policy consists primarily of reacting to Communist initiatives.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The fact is that day by day, month by month, and year by year, we are building, quietly but steadily, in the United Nations, in NATO, in the OAS, in SEATO, and other organs of consultation, the solid foundations of an international order based upon justice and law as substitutes for force.

The Communist rulers do not share in this effort to build a stable world order based upon justice and law. International communism avowedly seeks world-wide dictatorship. The concept of justice is alien to the Communist creed, and law, in our sense of that word, is unknown. The free world and Communist concepts are mutually antagonistic.

This, however, does not mean that there cannot be useful contacts and negotiations with the Communists. We have had many such. We are striving to make progress in the field of disarmament and in that connection deal with the Soviets, particularly in relation to the controlled discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests. We also seek agreement on possible measures which might be helpful in preventing surprise attack.

At Warsaw we negotiate with the Chinese Communists.

We have made clear our willingness to negotiate about the German question.

We have now an agreement with the Soviet Union on cultural and scientific exchanges which is operating satisfactorily. Also important are the visits to and from Russia of influential citizens.

President Eisenhower urged this in his letter of February 16, 1958, to the then Soviet Premier. Following this initiative, there have been useful visits on both sides, and we are glad that the First Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union, Mr. Mikoyan, is now here learning about our country. We would like to see a broader exchange of students. We believe that in such ways false premises and miscalculations can be reduced in the interest of peace.

V. THE INEVITABLE MOVEMENT TOWARD FREEDOM

I turn now to our second major purpose.

One of the strongest forces working in the world today is the movement toward independence and freedom.

This force is notably manifest in Africa. Here change is rapid, new states are arising almost overnight. This great continent presents a challenge to the United States to do its best to assist the peoples now emerging into independence and new opportunity.

Another such area is our hemisphere to the south. The peoples of Latin America are making clear their determination to control their own destinies. One by one dictatorships have made way for governments more responsive to the popular will.

The worldwide movement toward freedom is accompanied by a growing awareness of the deadly nature of Sino-Soviet imperialism. The leaders of the new freedom are coming more and more to see international communism as an immediate threat to their liberties, not, as some have thought, a mere bogeyman of so-called western imperialism.

The Communists are paying a price for the forced growth of their material power. There is a developing fear in the less powerful nations around the world of the dangerous combination of burgeoning economic and military power with the imperialist drive of the Communists for world domination. This menacing combination brings home with force the threat which, when the Communists were not so strong, was but a matter of vague and largely academic concern.

There has recently been a surprising clarification of understanding around the world of the real purpose of Communist leaders—to subject all the world to the dominant influence and control of international communism, with its primary power centers at Moscow and Peking.

In the Middle East the deadly designs of communism are now far more clearly realized than a year ago.

In southeast Asia liberty-loving peoples are struggling—and with success—to remain masters in their newly built national homes.

In general, I believe the leaders and peoples of Asia now understand better the sincerity of American policy favoring their independence and our willingness to support unconditionally their efforts to stay free and do so in their own way, which may indeed be a non-Western way.

In France, we are witnessing an inspiring example of national renewal.

The tide of freedom is running strong in Western Europe as Communist strength there ebbs.

Even in Communist countries there is a powerful and persistent craving for greater national freedom. Yugoslavia has been steadfast against all threats and blandishments from Moscow and has courageously maintained its independence.

Hungary's great effort to throw off its shackles, even though crushed by force, has been an inspiration and a tribute to man's unquenchable thirst for liberty. And throughout the bloc, even in the U.S.S.R., revisionism is a living force and ferment. Moscow considers it a deadly enemy, and with reason.

The pull of freedom is daily manifested in the flow of refugees from the Communist bloc to the free world.

The free people of West Berlin have, during years of uncertainty and danger, been an inspiring beacon light for all those whose liberties have been lost to Communist tyranny. We are determined that this light shall not fall, and that Berlin shall not be engulfed in the Red undertow.

As we look ahead, we see freedom as a predominant force, shaping our 20th century world. As Americans, we have faith that the aspiration, deep within the soul of man, to live freely and with dignity in a just and peaceful world is stronger than all the material forces which the Communists invoke as the pledge and promise of their power.

VI. ECONOMIC PROGRESS

I turn now to our third basic purpose.

We believe that economic progress is a necessary condition of stable and free nations. There must also be acceptance of economic interdependence of nations. No nation can live completely to itself.

Unless and until the less developed areas reach the stage of self-sustaining economic growth, the world as a whole will suffer. For the inhabitants of those areas, an increasing rate of economic development has become an essential condition of free societies. The demand for economic and social betterment is now universal, and if progress cannot be achieved in freedom, it will be sought by methods that jeopardize freedom.

The Communists are fully aware of the universal demand for progress, and they point to the Soviet and Chinese Communist accomplishments in industrialization as proof that their way is better than the way of freedom.

Our aid and investment must continue to support the efforts of the leaders of the developing free nations to sustain their peoples' confidence that economic progress can be attained in freedom.

We have not been alone in providing such support. Other highly industrialized states have made significant contributions.

These industrialized nations have also shown a growing awareness of interdependence among themselves. This is particularly gratifying to us. A common market for Europe was one of the policy objectives stated in the preamble to the European Recovery Act of 1948. Now, after 10 years, the six-

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nation European common market is a fact. The Western European currencies have become more freely exchangeable and there is a strong movement for broader economic cooperation in Western Europe.

Free world economic progress does not permit complacency or relaxation. It calls instead for renewed effort to increase the forward momentum.

In the years ahead, we must through our trade and financial policies continue to promote recognition and positive use of the benefits of interdependence. These benefits, and the inevitability of economic interdependence become more clear each year. What is being done in the European Community of Six provides an example and an inspiration for greater economic cooperation elsewhere in the world.

We must continue to apply our will, energy, treasure, and techniques to the problems of the less developed areas. The cause of freedom can be won—or could be, if only these

II. CONCLUSION

Let me in conclusion restate the basic purposes underlying our policies:

1. The renunciation of aggressive force and the substitution of collective institutions of peace, justice, and law among nations;
2. Promotion of the concept of human dignity, worth, and freedom;
3. Stimulation of economic growth and interdependence to create enlarged opportunities for realization of cultural and spiritual values.

These goals are not attainable in a few years, but will require decades and, perhaps even generations. Why is this so? We are but one nation among nearly a hundred sovereignties, and but a scant 6 percent of the world's land surface and population. Our foreign policy is not something we can enact into world law or dictate to other peoples. It means rather constant adjustment to forces which, though beyond our control to direct, we can influence through wise statesmanship and adherence to sound principles. With our immense wealth and power, and even more because of our spiritual heritage of faith and freedom, we can exert a shaping influence on the world of the future.

The price of failure would be the destruction of all our other national objectives. While mustering all our resources, both material and spiritual, we must press on with courage to build surer foundations for the interdependent world community of which we are part. This will call for austerity and sacrifice on the part of all. We must put first things first.

Our purpose, ultimately and at all times, should be to use our great power, without abusing or presuming upon it, to move steadily toward lasting peace, orderly freedom, and growing opportunity. Thus do we achieve our constitutional purpose "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."